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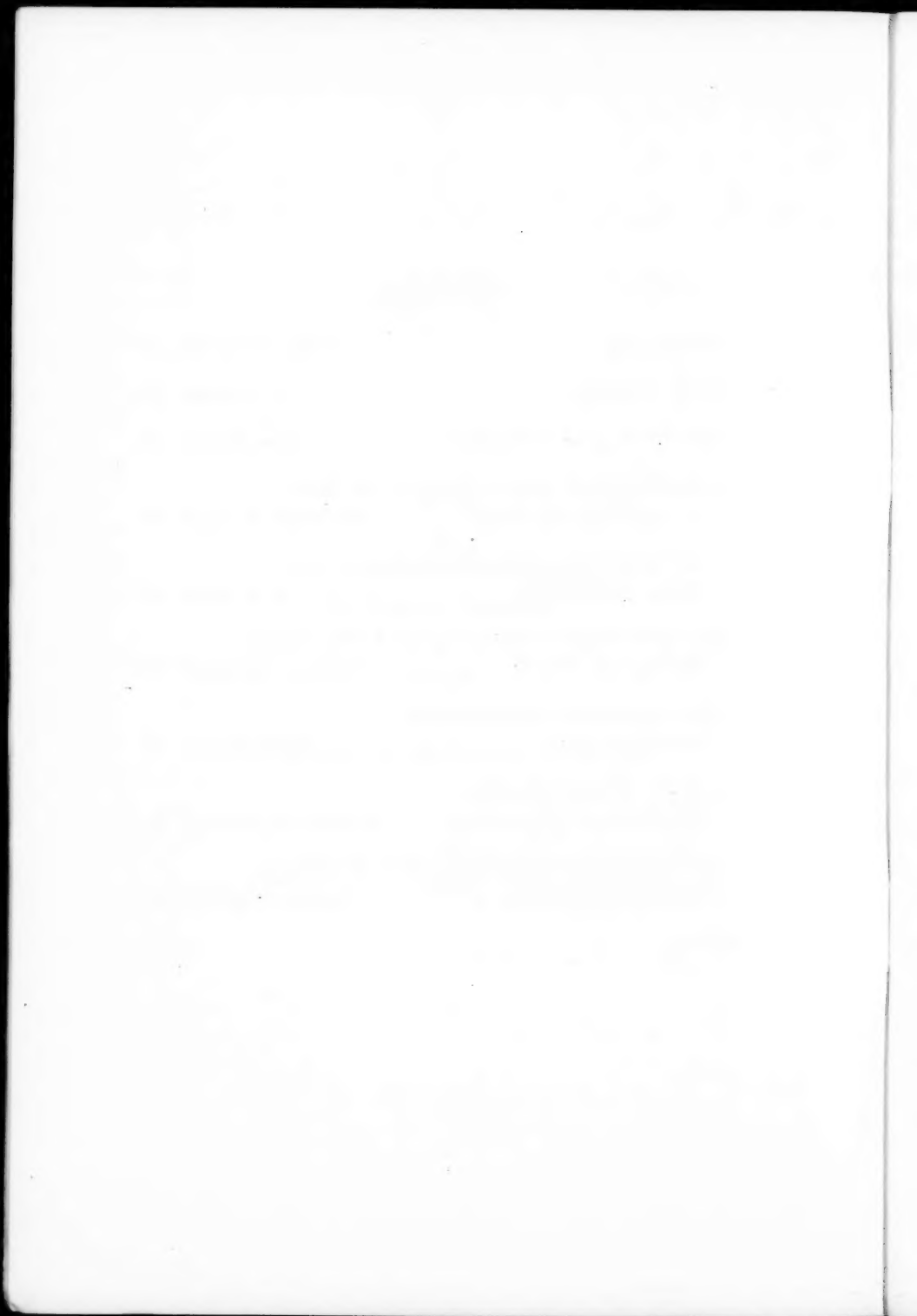


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ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHANGE OF TITLE

Starting with Volume 26, No. 1, January, 1953, the title of **PRIMITIVE MAN**, the quarterly periodical of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, has been changed to **ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY**.

During the last few years there have been a number of indications that the original title is no longer altogether a satisfactory one. It is felt that the new name **ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY** indicates more accurately the scope of the journal and that the change is best made upon the completion of twenty-five volumes under the former title.

THE EDITORS

A STUDY OF NORMS FOR BODY FORM-BEHAVIOR RELATIONSHIP*

CARROLL M. BRODSKY

**The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.**

Many investigators, the most important of whom are Kretschmer ('51), Connolly ('39), Sheldon ('42), have demonstrated a relationship between human body form and behavior. Although the studies conducted by Kretschmer and Connolly were concerned with behavior in its extreme forms as manifested by the psychotic personality, both investigators agreed with the later work of Sheldon in holding that the relationship also existed for the non-psychotic personality.

The basis of the relationship mentioned above has been more discussed than studied. An excellent review of the whole problem has been presented by Tucker and Lessa ('40). The theories as to a basis represent a dichotomy of thought. There is the theory that both behavior and body form represent or mirror an underlying genetic and functional biologic structure. Another theory holds that socio-cultural norms or expectations exist which channel the behavior of the individual in accordance with his body form. A third theory which has not been proposed in the literature, which seems equally credible, is one that would combine the two previously mentioned theories. It would hold that a biological basis for the relationship does exist, that the relationship between body form and behavior has been

*This article was composed for the fulfillment of the publication requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. The data on which the article is based are deposited in the Library of the University. The author wishes to acknowledge with gratitude his indebtedness to the late Professor Cornelius J. Connolly who directed the dissertation.

observed by members of the culture, and that sociocultural norms and expectations for the behavior of individuals in accordance with their body forms have been established on the basis of such observations.

The Problem:

The present study was conducted in an effort to test the basis for theories which hold that sociocultural norms for behavior of certain body forms do exist. The problem can be posed in the form of two questions:

1. Do socio-cultural norms or expectations exist for the behavior of individuals possessing certain body forms?
2. If such norms do exist, in what do they consist?

Method:

The first step in the actual investigation of the problem was to construct a set of stimuli which would represent the variety of body forms found in man, and which would not include factors capable of being predisposing stimuli in themselves. Many careful investigations have demonstrated that facial configurations, form and expression, are used as the basis for judgment of the total individual. Intelligence, courage, and trustworthiness are often assigned, using such features as criteria. Clothing is also a stimulus which might play a role in the gross, first impression of a human representation.

In order to eliminate these elements from consideration, it was decided that silhouettes of human figures would be used. The silhouettes were constructed on the basis of Sheldon's photographs ('40) representing an endomorph, an endo-mesomorph combination, a mesomorph, an ecto-mesomorph and an ectomorph. Five figures were considered as an optimum number, since the subject could examine all of the figures at close range from a fixed position. The figures were drawn on tracing paper, and enlarged to a height of 15 inches by means of a standard photographic enlarger. The final result was a silhouette of each type drawn in heavy India ink, on white cardboard. The cards were numbered from 1 to 5, card number 1 represented the silhouette of the endomorph, card number 2 the endo-mesomorph,

card number 3 the mesomorph, card number 4 the ecto-mesomorph, and card number 5 the ectomorph. In lay terms, the endomorph is roughly comparable to the short, fat, obese individual; the mesomorph to the well boned muscular individual, and the ectomorph to the taller, thinner individual.

A questionnaire was chosen as the most objective method of obtaining attitudes and reactions to this group of stimuli. It was also considered a suitable way of obtaining the subjects' reactions on common and fixed categories chosen by the investigator.

One hundred personality traits were assembled from the literature, and to this group were added traits which this investigator thought pertinent to the problem. From this pool fifty questions were constructed which represented the positive and negative aspects of twenty-five of the traits. For example, the trait, aggressiveness, was treated in two questions:

1. Which one of this group of five men is most aggressive?
2. Which one of this group of five men is least aggressive?

A judgment on athletic ability was sought by the questions:

1. Which one of this group of five men is the best athlete?
2. Which one of this group of five men is the poorest athlete?

All of the traits will be discussed in the section dealing with the results of this study.

The instructions on the front page of the questionnaire directed the subjects to answer all questions, and to answer them consecutively. The question was answered by inserting the number of the card whose silhouette best fitted the trait described in the question.

The use of the forced choice technique in this study was considered justified for several reasons. Since most of the subjects had never before consciously judged a human being on the basis of form as presented in silhouette, it was felt that the alternative of not answering would be taken in cases where a latent or available opinion existed, but in which the subject did not choose to commit himself. The fact that judgment was asked on matters of common experience, and that no point of information was involved, led us to believe that most opinions would have a real

basis in the respondent's attitudes. Finally, it was felt that if no meaningful relationship existed between the traits described in the questions and the silhouettes, the absence of significance would be indicated by a test using the Chi-square method.

The subjects used in this study consisted of 75 male medical and dental students at Howard University in Washington, D. C., and 50 male college students at George Washington University in Washington, D. C. The sample was chosen not as representative of the total population, but rather as two select groups, each relatively homogeneous, and each differing from the other in educational level and in racial origin. Should a stereotype, representing a behavioral expectation or norm exist, it was felt that the stereotype of one group might differ from that of the other.

The five cards showing the silhouettes were placed in a position affording the subjects an unobstructed view. The subjects were seated at a distance of ten feet from the cards, and the eye level of the subject correspond approximately to the umbilical level of the silhouette. The questionnaire was administered to no more than five subjects at one time, since pre-test experience indicated that a number greater than five caused the individuals in the end positions to have a distorted view of the cards.

In no case was the subject given any indication of the nature of the experiment. All queries were answered with the promise of a full explanation after the completion of the questionnaire.

The subjects were handed a questionnaire as they entered the room and shown the five seats which they were to occupy. The only instructions given the subject were those indicating that each card had a number, that the response to the question was the insertion of one of the five numbers, in the space provided next to the question, and that the directions on the front page of the questionnaire were to be read before proceeding to the questions.

The subjects were closely observed during the entire procedure, with special emphasis on the reactions of the first groups. Three individuals from different groups of fives, returned the question-

naire after examining it, with comments indicating that an opinion could not and should not be formed on the basis of the material presented. It is interesting to note that the "should not" element was as strong as the "could not" element.

The first reaction of most of our subjects to the questions was one of surprise and relief. The absence of factual elements and items demanding self revelation was the apparent cause of this reaction. The subject considered the questions carefully referring back to the figure several times before recording an answer, and often pausing for as much as two minutes before making his choice.

Results

The data were first analyzed for differences between the distributions of the responses of the two samples. For each question the Chi-square method was used to test whether or not the two samples differed from one another. Only one question out of a total of 50 showed a significant difference between the two samples. It was felt that this difference in but one of the 50 questions could have occurred by chance. Therefore it was possible to treat the mass of data as if it had been obtained from a single homogeneous sample.

The first question posed in our problem was:

Do socio-cultural norms or behavioral expectations exist for the behavior of individuals possessing certain body forms?

There can be no doubt that behavioral expectations for certain body forms did exist in our sample. In response to 18 of the 50 questions, or over one-third, 50% or more of the subjects agreed on one of the five silhouettes. In 35 of the 50 questions, one silhouette was chosen by over 40% of the subjects. In 45 of the 50 questions, one silhouette was chosen by over 30% of the subjects.

The second question posed in our problem was:

If such norms do exist, in what do they consist? Table 1 shows the silhouette that was chosen as fitting a descriptive trait by the highest percentage of the subjects.

We can see from this table that of the ten traits that show the highest percentage of agreement, eight are relatively physiological in nature, and hence perhaps more easily related to a given

silhouette. It is also interesting to note that nine of the first ten traits are essentially negative or undesirable. As one examines the whole table it becomes apparent that the negative or the less desirable of a pair of traits elicits a greater percentage of agreement on one silhouette than does the positive trait in the same pair.

Traits dealing with leadership follow physiological traits in percentage agreement.

We see that as the percentages become lower, we are dealing with traits that are more abstract in nature; traits which are either less visible or less easily represented by an act or a pattern of action.

Table 2 presents the traits assigned to each silhouette by one-third or more of the subjects. Under each silhouette, the descriptive traits are placed in a descending order of magnitude; the precise percentage of agreement may be obtained in Table 1.

TABLE 1

This table shows the silhouette that was chosen by the highest percentage of the subjects as fitting a given descriptive trait.

<i>Silhouette</i>	<i>Percentage of subjects</i>	<i>Descriptive trait</i>
1	81.6	Eats the most
1	73.6	Eats most often
1	72.0	Worst soldier
1	68.8	Poorest athlete
5	64.8	Has a nervous breakdown before age of thirty
3	64.0	Best athlete
1	62.4	Worst professor of philosophy
1	60.8	Can endure pain least
5	60.0	Eats the least
1	58.4	Least successful military leader
3	55.2	Most successful military leader
5	55.2	Smoke 3 packs of cigarettes a day
3	54.4	Best soldier
3	54.4	Man who would assume leadership
3	54.4	Would choose as leader
3	53.6	Would be elected as leader
5	50.4	Needs friends most
1	50.4	Least likely to be chosen leader
1	48.8	Poorest university president
3	48.0	Doesn't smoke at all
3	48.0	Needs friends least
1	48.0	Least aggressive
3	47.2	Most aggressive

TABLE 1 (continued)

Silhouette	Percentage of subjects	Descriptive trait
5	47.2	Eats least often
5	46.4	Has fewest friends
3	46.4	Most prefer as a friend
1	45.6	Drinks most
1	44.8	Least perter as a friend
5	44.0	Holds his liquor worst
3	44.0	Endures pain best
2	42.4	Best university president
1	41.6	Poorest doctor
1	39.2	Has many friends
5	38.4	Sacrifices men with greatest emotional distress
1	35.2	Puts own interest before others
3	34.4	Never has a nervous breakdown
3	33.6	Drinks least
5	33.6	Will not make a good father
1	32.8	Sacrifices men with least emotional distress
3	32.8	Least influenced by others
3	32.8	Best doctor
3	32.8	Best father
3	32.0	Holds his liquor best
1	31.2	Most easily influenced by others
1	30.4	Last to admit he is in error
4	29.6	Best professor of philosophy
1	29.6	Most tolerant of others
5	29.6	Least tolerant of others
5	28.0	First to give in if wrong
4	25.6	Puts others' interest before own
1	25.6	Last to give in if wrong
3	25.6	First to admit error

The pattern that emerges from this complex of traits is one of the endomorph (Silhouette 1) as an essentially undesirable individual, suited for nothing except the consuming of large quantities of food.

The mesomorph (Silhouette 3) emerges as all things positive and good. He is a leader who knows his potentialities, and these potentialities are recognized by others. Nothing negative is said about him.

The ectomorph (Silhouette 5) is visualized as a friendless bundle of collapsing nerves.

A question arises regarding the effect of the subject's own body form on his matching of silhouettes and traits. Although the study was not designed specifically to test the strength of this

TABLE 2

<i>Silhouette</i> 1	<i>Silhouette</i> 2	<i>Silhouette</i> 3	<i>Silhouette</i> 4	<i>Silhouette</i> 5
Eats the most	Best university president	Best athlete leader	Best professor of philosophy	Nervous breakdown before age of thirty
Eats most often		Most successful military leader	Put others' interest before own	Eats the least
Worst soldier		Best soldier		Smokes 3 packs cigarettes a day
Poorest athlete		Man who would assume leadership		Needs friends most
Worst professor of philosophy		Would choose as leader		Eats least often
Can endure pain least		Would be elected as leader		Fewest friends
Least successful military leader		Doesn't smoke at all		Holds his liquor best
Least likely to be chosen leader		Needs friends least		Sacrifices men with great emotional distress
Poorest university president		Most aggressive		Will not make a good father
Least aggressive		Most prefer as friend		Least tolerant of others
Drinks most		Endures pain best		First to give in if wrong
Least prefer as a friend		Never has a nervous breakdown		
Poorest doctor		Drinks least		
Has many friends		Least influenced by others		
Puts own interest before others		Best doctor		
Sacrifices men with least emotional distress		Best father		
Most easily influenced by others		Holds liquor best		
Last to admit he is in error		First to admit error		
Most tolerant of others				
Last to give in if wrong others				

factor, nevertheless the data were analyzed for this purpose. The reader is cautioned that the number of each group of body forms in our sample was small, that the body form of the subject was determined anthroposcopically, hence subject to error. The result of the analysis is reported because it is felt that it will be of interest to the reader, but the author makes no claims as to its validity.

1. The choice of any given silhouette was not based primarily on the subject's own body form.

2. The individual's own body form presented a weak factor predisposing the individual to assign positive traits to the silhouette corresponding to his own body form, and negative traits to silhouettes which did not resemble his body form. This factor did not show sufficient strength to overcome the force of the stereotype held by the group as a whole.

3. The subjects in this study were less interested in being the "best," than they were in not being the "worst." Data for many of the items showed that a group composed of similar body forms, shifted its choices away from its own silhouette in higher percentages when the item asked for the "worst" or "poorest" of a given occupation, skill, or trait, than it did toward its own silhouette when the item called for the best.

Conclusions:

In spite of the fact that our sample was composed of two groups which differed in race, educational level, social status, and probably economic status, we found no significant differences in the responses of the two groups. We conclude from this that these two groups derive their norms from the same culture. We cannot conclude that groups whose cultures differ greatly would give the same responses. A study among groups whose cultures are radically different would be necessary to establish or disprove the universality of the norms or stereotypes found in this study.

While we can conclude from the data that stereotypes exist, these data do not throw any light on the origin of the stereotypes. Three distinct possibilities exist as to their origin:

1. They are based on experience and observation.
2. They are based on a learned cultural norm.
3. They are based on cultural norms which have been established on the basis of experience and observation.

Again we can say that cross-cultural studies of this problem would cast much light on the origin of such stereotypes.

Given the stereotype we seem justified in assuming that the existence of a complex of behavioral expectations and stereotypes for certain body forms can influence the personality, temperament, and behavior of individuals possessing these body forms.

The fact that the highest percentage of our subjects agreed on traits which were physiological in nature is not surprising. It has been well established that the man who eats most is likely to become obese, and that the obese individual in most cases became obese by the consumption of the food equivalent of an excessive number of calories.

The traits assigned to each silhouette, as illustrated in Table 2, are somewhat unexpected in that preponderantly desirable traits are assigned silhouette 3. It is not possible to use as standards of comparison the traits which Sheldon ('42) found to be associated with the various body forms. The traits as described in our questionnaire were not in most questions worded in such a way as to make them equivalent to Sheldon's traits. We may note, however that Sheldon did not find that the mesomorph was all things desirable and the ectomorph and endomorph all things undesirable as our subjects tended to do. If we assume that the relationships between body form and traits found by Sheldon are objective, then we must conclude that the stereotypes held by our subjects are based not on experience but rather are derived from some other source. It is interesting to note in this connection that most of our subjects chose the endomorph as the one who would have the greatest number of friends. This is entirely in keeping with the well known saying that "everybody loves a fat man." Our subjects in another question indicated endomorph as the one type they would want least for a friend. We can perhaps conclude in this case that culture has not caught up with fact.

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THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF A NEW GUINEA PIG FESTIVAL*

(Part Two)

LOUIS J. LUZBETAK, S.V.D., PH.D.
Banz, Western Highlands
New Guinea

IV. THE MAIN EVENTS OF THE FESTIVAL

In the beginning of August, 1953, the headmen of the various sub-clans assembled and decided the approximate date for the slaughtering of the pigs, the climax of the festival, for which the natives of the Nondugl area had been waiting for about a year and a half. Friends from Banz, Kerowagi, Minj and other places were also notified. It was up to these friends to bring the necessary fire-wood and banana leaves, in which the pork would be "pressure cooked," as well as some of the sweet potatoes and sugar cane.

A. Preliminary Pig Sacrifices

There was now more excitement and interest in the festival than ever. The main events of the festival were about to begin. The ancestors evidently were no less eager to witness these events than the living. Never before during the festival was there so much contact between the living and the dead members of the various clans as there was to be from now on till the completion of the festival. Each sub-clan began this final part of the festival with a sacrifice of two or three pigs for the ancestors. The pigs were slaughtered in different parts of the ancestral

*This is the second and concluding section of the paper by Father Luzbetak concerning the Pig Festival as carried out by the people of the Nondugl area of the Middle Wahgi, Western Highlands, New Guinea. The first section appeared in the *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 27, pp. 59-80, 1954, and deals with the preliminary activities and the procedures during the Festival proper. The rites forming the climax and conclusion of the Festival are described in the present section. Editor.

burial grounds, *e.g.*, at Kombulno. Only members of the sub-clans (not their friends) were allowed to partake of this pork. Strangely enough, however, every bit of the pork was consumed and nothing left on the graves, as might have been expected.

B. Fertility Rites

1. Construction of the House of the Bolim-Spirit

On three consecutive days the natives of Kombulno practiced "mangro-mangroing"—the long, drawn-out cry of *o-o-o-o-o* while marching at a relatively rapid pace. The practicing took place along the Ngumi Creek because it was somewhere along this Creek that parts of the House of the Bolim-Spirit, built at the last festival some twenty years ago, had been buried. The central pole of the house (called *tumunts*, a kind of tree) had to be found before the festival at Kombulno could proceed.

The men began their secret hunt for the central pole: a shallow hole about six feet long, three feet wide and two feet deep was dug near the stream, where the old men believed the central pole had been buried. After a second attempt some yards down the creek, the central pole, some planks and the vine used to bind the posts and planks of the house, known as *kan banz*, were located. I have personally seen the central pole and have in my possession some of the original vine. The wood has undergone practically no decay. The sod had not been tampered with, a fact that seems to exclude the possibility of deceptions.

There was great rejoicing when the relics of the House of the Bolim-Spirit had been discovered. A forceful contact between the past and present generations had thus been made. "The ancestors are favorable! They have helped us locate the central pole they buried!" The discoverer was a man named Ka, about 45 years of age. His father had had the same task of finding the central pole at the previous festival.

The relics were placed on the grass and all looked on reverently. An old man began to assure all: "If the *mont*-planks and the central pole would have been found dry, we would all be doomed to die very soon. But, look, they are wet! They have

been found in water. We shall not die. Our ancestors have been kind to us."

The relics were again placed into the hole where they had been found, but were not covered over with soil. Later on these relics were brought secretly to Kombulno where several men were constantly guarding them. Women and children were not allowed to see these relics. When I visited the hiding place, the guards spoke in a hushed tone and showed great reverence toward these ancestral remains. I was permitted to touch these discoveries and to examine them closely, even to photograph them. When asked for a piece of the pole, the men replied: "We would like to chop a piece off and give it to you but if we would dare to do so we would die on the spot!"

In spite of the extremely important position of the spirit called Bolim, little is known and much less is spoken about him. His name is greatly feared. I have met natives who were frightened when they heard the name Bolim pronounced and felt extremely uncomfortable when I inquired about him. Bolim is referred to as *Kip Bang* ("The Red Spirit").¹ Bolim lives somewhere in the clouds. There is nothing good about him: he delights in coming down to earth and destroying human beings. Despite the fact that he is sometimes called "Big Grandfather" (*Kowandzen Kerma*), we cannot associate Bolim with the first ancestor. "Grandfather" is a word of endearment and may be used merely to flatter Bolim, the evil spirit. My informant assured me that Bolim had nothing to do with the ancestors and the reason he gave was the fact that all Bolim wants to do is to inflict harm upon human beings, while the ancestors, on the contrary, are primarily helpers in need. Bolim may join battle, but only to do mischief. Moverover, Bolim could not be the chief ancestor because native tradition attributes entirely different origins to the various clans and sub-clans.

Bolim's house occupies the very center of the festival grounds and around it the main ceremonies take place. Its importance is brought out further by the fact that the Geru-Houses must

¹ It is interesting to note that when the first Europeans passed through this area they were regarded as "red spirits."

be so built as to face the House of the Bolim-Spirit.

The house of the Bolim-Spirit is a round shrine, about five feet in diameter, with walls about one and a half feet high, a conical roof with a very low pitch, with no windows, no door or any other opening, and resting on four posts about five feet high. There is also a central pole, which rests on the ground and passes through the center of the conical roof, extending about a foot and a half beyond it.

Some men inherited the task of going to the mountains and cutting planks of the *mont*-tree to be used for the new Bolim-House. The wood-cutters, however, came back from the mountains empty-handed, for no one was to know that human beings were responsible for the construction of Bolim's house. The men had to go back to the mountains at night and bring the planks secretly to a hidden place at Kombulno.

The following morning the Dance of the *Mont-Tree* (*Ont Mont Gol*) was held in honor of Bolim, who was soon to have spirits build him a house of the *mont*-planks. Besides, the next day, pigs had to be slaughtered in preparation for the great event. At Kombulno, the Kamanegan sub-clan killed two pigs, the Kompkan, two pigs, and the Toimbaga, two pigs. The Eruga people on the other hand did not kill any pigs since according to their custom they have a stump from a *mont*-tree sunk into the ground in front of their Geru-House, instead of having a special dwelling for Bolim.

That evening I was present at the hiding place where the "spirits" were tying the parts of their prefabricated Bolim-House. The builders went about their task very seriously and reverently and spoke only in whispers. Although according to tradition the natives are to attribute the Bolim-House to the work of spirits and therefore the construction was to be kept secret, I was permitted to photograph the proceedings.

As the full moon shown brightly overhead—it was close to midnight—one of the men feigning madness drove everyone away from the center of the festival grounds, where the "spirits" were about to begin their work. When everyone was out of sight the men brought the prefabricated Bolim-House from

their hiding-place. Only about a dozen men were present. Here too I was permitted to take some flash-photographs despite the secrecy about the actual construction of the house. From the very fact that I was permitted to do so, one can readily see how the native religious beliefs are being shaken by contact with the Western world. At the previous festival my presence most certainly would have been impossible, much less would I have been allowed to photograph so secret a ceremony.

If we were to classify the ceremonies that now take place around Bolim's house under one term, we should call them "fertility rites." The chief purpose of these ceremonies is to insure healthy children, abundant pigs, and excellent gardens. This aim is achieved by placating Bolim, Geru, and possibly other spirits, and through the blessing bestowed on the living by the ancestors who are greatly honored by the faithful observance of traditional ceremonies. The central pole of Bolim's house, around which these rites take place, is itself a symbol of fertility: the central pole is pointed on top and represent the male genital organ. In one of the later ceremonies a symbolical coitus takes place.

2. The Fertility Dance in Honor of the Geru-Spirit

A few days after the erection of the Bolim-House all assembled to honor Geru with the "Dance of the Great Spirit" (*Kip Camp Gol*). Geru, it should be remembered, is a spirit of fertility, a guardian of crops and especially of pigs. For this dance the participants wear little planks or shields on their heads, called *geruas*. These shields are 3" x 6" to 6" x 12" and have a pointed handle by which the shield can be held or stuck into the hair. The *geruas* are painted on both sides, in red, orange, yellow and blue, the patterns frequently being diamond-shape,—a very common symbol for the female sex organs as well as a sign of fertility. The patterns are often very artistic, both as to design as well as to balance of color. Unfortunately, like so many things native, the *geruas* are losing their original beauty—tin foil, pieces of colored paper, pictures of colored handkerchiefs and linoleum cut out from old Sears Roebuck

catalogues, etc., are being used to embellish these ceremonial boards.

All males and little girls whose breasts have not yet begun to develop may wear the *geruas*. These shields are kept in the Geru-House and, whenever one wishes to put one of these *geruas* on his head, he must do so inside the house of the Geru-Spirit.

"If I don't wear the Geru-sign, Geru will come and do me untold harm," was the response to my inquiries as to the purpose of wearing the object. A string (*non kendi*) sometimes hangs from the Geru-sign. This string is a means of contacting the Big Spirit, Geru, himself.

While performing the "Dance of the Big Spirit" the following meaningless words were sung:

Ngumi² ngami ba tuan gurpundona
Kwi poprande dei ende poprande dei ende.

The dancers were slowly making their way toward the Geru-Houses. Children, who have never before worn a *gerua*, were assembled in the house of the Geru-Spirit, now wearing the colorful shields on their heads. The dancers then formed a double line leading to the entrance of the Geru-House. Suddenly all burst into a "mangro-mangro" cry as the children slowly came out of the house. A man, taking his bow, shot an arrow toward Minj, "where we have plenty enemies. By shooting an arrow in the direction of our enemies, our ancestors will be pleased; they will come to our assistance and will punish the Minj people." Thereupon another man taking a *bombo* (a bundle of leaves in which the spells of enemies have been captured) threw it on the roof of the Big Spirit's (Geru's) house. As in the case of so many other ceremonies, the only explanation the natives could offer was, "if we don't do as our ancestors used to do it, we'll most certainly die."

² Ngumi is the name of the stream near Kombulno, where according to tradition many of the ceremonies must take place. Often these meaningless songs begin with the name of a place, as in this case.

3. The Slaughter of the "Small" Pigs

Pigs intended for the climax of the festival were classified as "big" and "small." The "big" pigs were the large ones, four to five years old, while the others were all considered "small."

Some days before the actual slaughtering of pigs, the natives left the festival grounds and returned to their homesteads dispersed through the Wahgi Valley and the mountain sides. The pigs that were to be slaughtered at the festival were all brought to a place near the Wahgi River. The following day they were brought to the Kombulno festival grounds where an exhibition of pigs was held. Here one could see the real wealth and pride of the Nondugl natives—the finest pigs the natives have been able to raise. Most of them were large and fat, and about four to five years old. Nothing but "Aiyal Aiyal" (words of admiration) could be heard as the natives went about examining the animals, who would be sacrificed for the pleasure of the living, of the departed and of the spirits.

The following morning was indeed a busy one. Natives were seen on the roads coming to and leaving Kombulno. Some were carrying fire-wood, others native vegetables, still others stacks of banana leaves—all intended for the "small" pigs which were to be slaughtered, cooked, and eaten in a matter of a few days in honor of the departed relatives and ancestors.

The day after the fertility dance had been held in honor of Geru, the "small" pigs were slaughtered, cooked, and distributed among relatives and friends, including white settlers and even missionaries. These pigs were cooked at the various family burial grounds scattered throughout the Nondugl area. Some, of course, were also slaughtered at the larger ancestral cemeteries such as Kombulno. The head and liver were cooked separately. Nothing, however, was left on the graves. On this occasion 97 pigs were slaughtered by the people of Kombulno; 74 by the Parmil natives; 79 by the Munumul people; 41 by the Goza natives; 125 by the Bamna people; 75 by the Gunolno natives. At night the jaw-bones of these pigs were collected and secretly brought to the festival grounds, where they were tied to the house of the Bolim-Spirit. It was on this night, too, that the

men secretly put the *kunai*-grass on the roof of Bolim's house, and smeared the walls, and especially the posts on which the house rested, with pig grease. Again only whispers were heard as the "spirits" went about their work.³ It was on this night also that the *Bolim Bombo* fertility rite was performed. As mentioned before, the central pole of the Bolim-House extended about a foot and a half beyond the roof and represented the male sex organ. Three more or less diamond-shaped pieces of wood, about a foot long and four inches wide with a hole (*tundu*) in the center representing the female sex organ, (one for each of the Geru-Houses) were placed over the pointed central pole, thus symbolizing a coitus. One of the diamond-shaped boards had some moss hanging from it. This was the same type of moss as that used by native women to absorb menstrual blood. The men then began to dance and sing in Chimbu fashion the so-called *Gol Gur Gur*. First the men banged their hand-drums, then stepped back two steps, then again a few steps forward; banged their drums again, stepped back two steps and came forward two steps, singing:

Kombulno gul gungl gungl, etc.

Early the following morning the natives gathered around the house of the Bolim-Spirit. "Look!" they were told, "the spirits joined us in our feast yesterday; they have eaten the heads of our small pigs and hung the jaws on the Bolim-House and covered it over with pig grease." The natives stood around the house of the Bolim-Spirit, eating the remainder of yesterday's pork. That morning there was no banging of drums, no dancing, no singing. In the afternoon, however, all the people of Kombulno went to Parmil to join in the festivities of their friends. Together they danced the *Bolim Bombo* Dance, which would be repeated the next day at Kombulno, a fertility dance in honor of Bolim.

³ The sub-clans, who did not have the custom of erecting a special shrine to Bolim, had instead their *ont mont* stump which they covered with pig grease.

4. The Fertility Dance in Honor of Bolim

The *Bolim Bombo* Dance is undoubtedly the most elaborate and lively dance known to these people. Several hundreds of men and women take part in it. Since the Kombulno people had helped the Parmil natives with this dance the day before, the Parmil people were there to join in the Kombulno festivities.

A "clown" at first entertains the crowds, while the men, gayly dressed in flaring Bird of Paradise plumes, some armed with their bows and arrows, others armed with long spears, others holding pearl shells, or the *kan banz* vine, or other ceremonial objects, hide in the bushes outside the festival grounds. A "police-man" arrives and chases the "clown" away and clears the area around the house of the Bolim-Spirit. Women and girls then take their places around the house,—the diamond-shaped boards representing the female sex organs being still in place on the center pole of the house. The women, surrounding this symbolical coitus, sit down on the ground and place new, bright green sweet-potato vines on their heads. At their side are little heaps of sweet potatoes, pork, tapioca, unripe bananas and some native green vegetables. The women are eager to take part in this dance for it will insure successful gardens and make pigs and children healthy and strong. While the women chat and nibble on a piece of pork, a "mangro-mangro" cry of the men hiding is faintly heard. The "o-o-o-o-o" grows louder and louder as the army of dancers, still invisible, comes closer and closer to the festival grounds. Finally the dancers enter the "singsing" grounds. Splendidly dressed warriors fiercely charge with their spears; their comrades charge close behind with drawn bows. Behind the warriors are the sorcerers: there are two men carrying *bombos* (the trap which captures the evil spells of enemies); there is another sorcerer holding a *kan banz* vine while his partner holds a piece of wood. By sawing the wood with the vine, as if to start a fire, a powerful preventive magic is performed. Other partners are making the *kilaming*, a magical act performed by making gestures with the hands as if giving and receiving a pearl shell. Another sorcerer is holding a plume of the white Bird of Paradise (*ye bar*) in his right hand with

which he constantly brushes his left forearm. Just why a man should be dressed like a woman in the dance, no one was able to tell me. Finally, behind the sorcerers is an army of drummers, who almost madly beat their hand-drums and "mangro-mangro" as loudly as they can.

First the army of dancers kneels down on both knees; then suddenly there is a fierce charge of spears; then all abruptly kneel down with their buttocks resting on their calves; then another charge and another quick rest. All warriors quickly rise again and begin to move their feet very rapidly as if running but actually remaining in one spot. All this time the sorcerers perform their magic with vehement gestures, while the drummers wildly bang their drums and yell the unceasing "o-o-o-o-o." The army of dancers charges around the House of the Bolim Spirit where the women are still sitting and eating pork and sweet potatoes.

This dance drives away evil spirits. It brings the blessing of ancestors. "If we do not perform the *Bolim Bombo* Dance our pigs will die, our sweet potatoes will refuse to grow and we shall bear only sickly children." This was the general reply to the query as to why the dance was performed.

Two men then climbed on top of the House of the Bolim Spirit, the same men who performed the fertility rite of placing the three female *tundus* over the male central pole. The two men, standing on top of the house, delivered a speech, the substance of which was: "Rejoice! Eat the meat of the 'small' pigs which you have already slaughtered and get ready for tomorrow's great slaughter, the climax of our festival, the slaughter of our 'large' pigs." The ceremony came to an end when the women gave the men-dancers some pork, which they took to the Geru-House and later ate.

C. The Climax of the Festival: The Slaughter Of the 'Large' Pigs

The following morning the natives began bringing their prize-possessions, the largest and finest pigs they could raise, to the center of the festival ground. On this occasion there was no

singing or beating of hand-drums: only the "mangro-mangro" cry was permitted (*kan nol tsim*).

A few days before, the men had prepared their slaughtering clubs. Only the dry wood of the *kosgal*-tree could be used. There was something sacred about those clubs: after the slaughtering was finished they had to be safely kept and later brought to the Ngumi Creek. Were these clubs desecrated, the pigs of the natives would "infallibly" suffer harm.

Women for the first and only time during the festival were now permitted to wear the body ornaments of the men. Women were proudly strutting about the festival grounds, wearing men's costumes and adornments, especially the golden wigs and torch-like plumes of the Bird of Paradise. As the pigs were brought toward the center of the "singsing" grounds, near the House of the Bolim-Spirit, about fifty men (and a few women), all armed with solid clubs, began the great slaughter. Usually two or three blows over the head were sufficeint to kill these mighty pigs. At Kombulno, in about three quarters of an hour some four hundred squealing pigs were clubbed to death and piled around the House of the Bolim-Spirit. Sometimes a pig would "rise from the dead," merely to receive a few more violent blows over the head. The silent European on-lookers called the ceremony "sickening," while the natives screamed with laughter and joy, mingling their cries with those of the dying pigs. All told, some two thousand large pigs were slaughtered that day at the various Nondugl festival grounds.

As the pigs lay motionless and dead around the House of the Bolim-Spirit, women came with their large bamboo vessels and poured water on them. By doing so the women were actually performing a rite which would make the surviving pigs large and prolific.

New *geruas*, not worn by a native before, were placed on many of the pigs. This act was likewise intended as a means of making the pigs that had been spared from the slaughter healthy and prolific. Later the Geru-signs were attached to the House of the Bolim-Spirit.

The pigs were then arranged in three lines, like spokes of a

gigantic wheel, the hub being the Bolim-House and the spokes terminating at the three Geru-Houses. Thus Geru, the spirit of fertility, and Bolim, the chief and most feared spirit, were common sharers of this great pig feast.

The afternoon was devoted to cutting up the pork and "pressure cooking" it as usual, together with some vegetables, and seasoned with ginger previously chewed by the cook who spat his "luscious" seasoning on the meat. The head and liver, the choice morsels of the spirits and the departed, were placed in the earth-ovens nearest to the Geru-Houses. The head and liver, however, were not cooked till the following morning, and only men who wore a Geru-sign were allowed to partake of this meat.

That day a very amusing and unexpected sight awaited the non-native onlooker. About half a dozen men climbed on top of each Geru-House and then began a veritable rain-storm of pork, throwing hundreds of pounds of pork in all directions. The crowd of natives screamed and pushed and fought in this down-pour of meat, everyone trying to snatch as much of it as he could manage.

The festival described is sometimes referred to simply as the "pig festival," and rightly so. Again and again, the ceremonies called for a pig-feast, and the climax of the festival was the great slaughter just described. During the festival the natives ate an unbelievable amount of pork. To eat ten pounds of pork in a single day was certainly not something out of the ordinary. Sometimes a native, whose stomach had been filled to capacity, caused nausea by smelling a certain variety of the rhododendron plant and thus emptied his stomach only to be able to fill it again. Much sickness was caused not only by over-eating but also by eating dirty, and especially partly decayed, pork.

V. THE INITIATION

It is indeed appropriate for a festival so intimately interwoven with the ancestors and ancient tradition—things of the past—to conclude with thoughts rather of the future. The clan

will live on; it will never die. Ancient traditions must live on too and the ancestors must never be forgotten. The hope of the future is the youth, who, if imbued with the spirit of the past, will transmit to their children all that tradition and ancestors hold sacred, right, and just. It is especially at the initiation of the youth that the clan-personality is given new life and assurance that "we," the group as a group, shall live on and on.

The author has been present at the initiation ceremonies of the Waga people, which concluded the Nondugl festival.

It is interesting to note how the initiation ceremonies, at one time so vital to all concerned, are through contact with European civilization losing their importance and seriousness. Before the white man came, the initiation was, first of all, a period of serious training for battle with enemy clans. It was, secondly, the chief period of character building. Finally, it was the chief occasion for tribal traditions, legends and secrets to be revealed to the young men, ready to take their full share of responsibility in the society into which they were born. Now, however, with government control, tribal fights are a thing of the past and therefore there is no reason to train for battle. Character training, which once formed an essential part of the initiation, has been taken over by the Missions. Most of the tribal secrets, formerly revealed during the initiation ceremonies, have now through formal schooling and contact with Europeans become public knowledge, while many tribal traditions and legends are contradictory to what the native at present learns in school. Consequently, with the disappearance of the practical value of the initiation ceremonies, the institution is not taken so seriously as before and is being considered more and more as a mere ceremony, "a custom our forefathers have taught us," and nothing more. Nevertheless, the initiation ceremonies have undoubtedly retained their power to awaken a deeper group-consciousness in all and are responsible to no small measure for what may survive of the little world which the highlanders built for themselves before the arrival of the white man—the little world which was as small as the little clan to which they belonged.

A. *The "Spirit-Flutes"*

At first sight it may seem strange that the ceremonies we term as "initiation" are referred to by the natives simply as "Seeing the Flute" (*Ka kanm*). However, "seeing the flute" is an appropriate appellation for the initiation ceremonies, inasmuch as the official presentation of the flutes is also the official recognition of the candidate as a fully-fledged member of the clan.

In ethnological literature these flutes are often called "Spirit-Flutes." We retain the term, not however implying that the flutes necessarily have anything to do with the spirit-world, but merely to express the mystery with which the ceremonial flutes were originally enshrouded. Before the coming of the white man and his sophisticated ways, the ceremonial flutes were never shown to an uninitiated person, especially not to a woman. If a woman had learned that the monotonous hooting she so often heard was not the song of the mysterious bird (*ka*), as she had repeatedly been told, but was the sound produced by blowing a bamboo tube, her own people would have drowned her in the Wahgi. When a boy old enough to be taught the traditions of his people has shown himself strong enough to stand the various initiation tests, and bold enough to defend his people as a warrior, he was also ready to know the facts about the mysterious "spirit-flute," the most closely-guarded tribal secret. He was thereby officially proclaimed ready to take full share of responsibility in his society and fit to enjoy full rights as member of his group.

The "spirit-flutes" are bamboo tubes, varying in size from twelve to thirty-six inches in length, and one to three inches in diameter. The far end of the flute is open; about an inch or two from the closed end a hole about half an inch in diameter is cut. Wind passing over this hole produces the sound of a flute. Tones are varied by altering the lip position and by muffling the escape of air at the open end.

As mentioned before, the flutes were formerly kept scrupulously hidden. The candidates would receive lessons how to play the flutes far away in the bush, where no one could hear the

faulty playing. Now the flutes are kept in the Geru-Houses, visible to anyone wishing to see them. They are played in the open, the players often being surrounded by women and children. Even long before the initiation a boy may have learned to play the "spirit-flutes" expertly.

The flutes are always played in pairs, each player playing a kind of counter-melody to that of his partner. The melodies are extremely monotonous, usually with a variation of only a few tones. The melodies are ordinarily named after birds and other animals, of which they are supposed to be imitations. Thus *Teine* and *Tongul* are varieties of *kapul*, a small native marsupial; while *Tain Kumbu*, *Bare*, *Dirum Baru*, *Bare Uwar*, *Diling Ambel*, and *Winale* are all birds.⁴

Although each festival ground held its own initiation ceremonies, independently of the others, they all took place more or less simultaneously and therefore I have personally been able to attend only the initiation of the Kombulno people. When a ceremony was performed by a Kombulno sub-clan independently of the others, I joined the Kamanegan group in preference to the others. However, I was assured by my informants that the ceremonies were the same everywhere in the Nondugl area.

B. The Initiates

Contact with Europeans has brought many changes in the initiation ceremonies. Among the more essential changes is that regarding who may and who may not be a candidate. Formerly only boys took part in the ceremonies. At the initiation witnessed by the author, a small number of girls took part too, although it is true that girls were excluded from the main initiation ceremonies. No change has come regarding the age of participants. As in former times, the range was between ten and twenty years of age. There were two main requirements, first that the candidate had not been initiated before, and second, that at least one large pig had been sacrificed at the festival by the candidate's family.

⁴ Many of these melodies seem to be of Chimbu origin, as their names indicate.

C. Presentation of the Flutes

It was Tuesday night. A beautiful full moon lit the entire Kombulno festival grounds. The candidates assembled at the practicing-grounds, all somewhat nervous. Each sub-clan had a kind of master-of-ceremonies, who led his group of candidates to the door of their Geru-House. The candidates, their eyes firmly closed, were lined up in two rows facing the Geru-House. Two at a time they entered. As they entered, their eyes still shut, an old man who was in charge of the candidates addressed the two candidates with the words, "*Pinye nyiyala!*" that is, "Both of you, open your eyes!" On opening their eyes the two candidates were presented each with a "spirit-flute." Formerly this little ceremony was one of the most important moments of a man's life. The mystery regarding the "spirit-flute" was solved: the candidate was *ipso facto* a fully recognized member of the clan.

D. The Initiation Tests

Two by two they entered, listened for the same words, "Open your eyes!" and, if they were boys they received a "spirit-flute," then sat down close to the fire. When all the candidates were in the Geru-House, two old men each dragged in a large log and placed the logs practically in the fire. The candidates had to sit on these logs and go through an hour of almost unbearable heat. This was their first endurance test, and they still had several more to go through. Large beads of sweat rolled down their faces, but no complaints were heard. Fidgeting was looked upon as shameful and a sign of weakness. Drinking was also tabu. Formerly, as I was assured by my old informant, the candidates were "roasted" all night long and the heat of the fire was much more intense. "Now our children are weak," he said, "and they cannot stand the same tests we had to go through."

The candidates slept in the Geru-Houses till midnight when they were awakened and the boys were driven with sticks through thickly overgrown grass- and cane-land toward the Alnor River about a mile from Kombulno. The girl-candidates, however, remained in the Geru-Houses and therefore were ex-

empt from the second initiation test. As the candidates marched, forcing their way through the bush, they played their spirit-flutes. The hooting filled the valley and mountain sides and seemed to come from a hundred different places, for the people of the other festival grounds were initiating their boys at this moment too. During the march to the River Alnor, men would beat the candidates with their canes. Really painful blows, of course, were not intended. Nevertheless, this march was a difficult march and a kind of endurance test which the candidates had to pass.

When they reached the River Alnor the boys climbed up small trees and then by hanging from the topmost branches tried to uproot them. The boy had to do his work quickly, for as long as he was suspended the busy men with their canes were there to beat him. If a boy failed to uproot the tree, it was a sure sign that he would be killed by an evil spirit before long. The trees then had to be dragged back up the road toward Kombulno. The march back was exhausting and was intended to be such: it was, after all, a part of the endurance test.

The candidates then returned to their respective Geru-Houses. Soon the fathers of the boys came with pieces of pork for their son-candidates and the old men in charge. After this refreshment the candidates were allowed to sleep in the Geru-Houses till morning. While they slept young men walked about the festival grounds, incessantly playing the various melodies on the "spirit-flutes."

The third initiation test was another exhausting march, this time up and down steep mountain sides. Early in the morning the candidates, including the girls, set out for the mountains. They were not allowed to follow any beaten trail once they reached the mountains: they had to break their own way through the dense cane and grass. Again the men were there to beat the candidates with their canes "to make real men out of them." The uprooting and dragging of small trees and the hooting of flutes was much the same as during the march to the Alnor. Although the girls took part in the march they were exempt from being beaten with the canes. The Kombulno candidates were

marching to the source of the River Kep, but, before they could reach it, they had to go up and down, up and down one ridge after another. At times it was like sliding down a two-hundred-foot wall. When the candidates reached their destination, about twenty old men were there already, some busily roasting pork, some preparing the *azamp*, others building the "initiation tunnel." The *azamp* is not the plant used to cause abortion, but ginger, which the men chew together with salt and then spit into a banana leaf. The banana leaf is then rolled up like a one-foot cigar. The "initiation tunnel" is formed by extending branches from bank to bank at the source of the Kep and then covering the top as well as both ends with foliage. The "initiation tunnel" was about thirty feet long and about four feet high. The source of the River Kep was chosen because it was here that for generations the Kombulno sub-clans have come to initiate their boys.

The "initiation tunnel" was the scene of the fourth initiation test. Again only the boy swore obliged to pass the test. They came slowly toward the tunnel, some frightened, some smiling. The name of a boy-candidate was called out. Wading through the water, he came slowly toward the entrance of the tunnel. While he bent down to enter, two men struck him with their canes. As he waded down the cold, dark tunnel, men inside beat him with sticks and splashed icy mountain water over his body. While some men above the tunnel poured cold water over the top so that water kept dripping from the ceiling constantly. On reaching the end of the tunnel the candidate had to stick out his tongue from behind the leaf-covered back-wall. Men waiting for the candidate then rubbed his tongue and lips with *nonts*, a kind of nettle, which causes a very disagreeable burning pain. The candidate then had to retrace his steps through the dark, watery tunnel. As he came out he received a new "spirit-flute," and again had to face the men with the canes. Only one boy out of a possible thirty came out of the tunnel crying. It seemed the men were anxiously waiting for certain candidates, boys who deserved more severe treatment than others, boys who were naturally stubborn, disrespectful toward elders, disobedient

and especially those whom we would term "bullies," always fighting with boys smaller than themselves. In such cases the blows were well applied and the amount of nettle rubbed on their tongues and lips was also proportional.

On leaving the tunnel, the candidate immediately went up a small hill nearby and joined his comrades there. The initiates then played their flutes, after which *azamp*, the cigar-shaped delicacy (ginger and salt wrapped in a banana leaf) was placed into the mouth of each candidate, each taking a generous bite. The initiates were then given some sugar-cane and roasted pork. When they had had their share, the remainder of the food was distributed among all present.

Except for the relatively few girl-candidates, no women were present during the march and during the ceremonies at the "initiation tunnel."

There was no letting of blood at the tunnel. Formerly one of the most severe tests the candidates had to go through was the blood-letting ordeal. The highlanders had the custom of rolling up a banana leaf and then spinning it inside the nostrils of the candidate till blood began to flow freely. The blood would flow into the stream so that an enemy would not be able to put some of it on his arrow. A blood-stained arrow infallibly strikes the person with whose blood it has been marked. According to some interpreters, the purpose of letting blood was to rid the candidate of the "bad blood" which he had received from his mother. However, this may simply have been another means of training the candidate for the hardships of life which he would have to face once he had assumed the responsibility of a full-fledge member of his group. The custom of letting blood has evidently disappeared.

E. Initiation Instructions

Everyone returned to Kombulno in the afternoon. That evening the initiates (including the girl-candidates) assembled in their respective Geru-Houses, where they sat around the fire and received instructions from their "grandfathers." I attended the instructions given to the Kamanegan initiates. Since the sub-

clans have slightly different traditions and different histories, it was quite appropriate to give separate instructions to the various groups.

The following is a free translation of the instruction given to the Kamanegan initiates. The instructors were two old men, both in their 60's,—Kum, my informant, and an old man by the name of Warep. As the initiates sat around the fire, Kum began:

"My children, it is your sacred duty to obey your elders. When we two old men, Warep and I, were shown the 'spirit-flutes' for the first time, our fathers taught us the things we are about to tell you.

"Obey your parents. Make good gardens, raise plenty pigs. If you do so, you will be able to hold another big festival such as this."

Warep then chimed in: "My children, when we two old men, Kum and I, were still small, our fathers showed us the flutes too. On this occasion they gave us the following good advice, which we wish to pass on to you: 'When you young men get married, always make big gardens, raise many pigs, cut plenty fire-wood for the women's house. Remember, some of the fire-wood should go to your father.' If you do this, you will give us two old grandfathers great joy. Boys, don't think only of play. Work, work! Work is something really worthwhile. Get into the habit of having a good supply of fire-wood and drinking water. Obey your parents at all times. If you disobey them, your enemies will come and you will die in battle. If you obey your parents, you will live a long long time.

"We two old grandfathers have seen this kind of festival only three times: once when we were still very small, once when we were married men, and now we have seen it again as old men.⁵

"My father used to tell me: 'Son, you must not have intercourse with a girl before marriage. It is something no good.

⁵ This same statement was also made by Kum later on. Our assertion that the festival described in the present article occurs only once in a generation in the Nondugl area was chiefly based on this statement, which other old men have later confirmed.

And when we did go out with our girl-friends we never slept with them the way you see done today. My father used to say, 'Son, if you sleep with a girl,⁶ the hair on your chest will stand up and all will know!' When we were young we followed the advice of our parents very conscientiously in this regard. That is why we two old men, Kum and I, have lived to a ripe old age. Our children refuse to listen to our advice. They are very free with their girl-friends and therefore they and their children are all so puny. Look at us two old men! Look, we are big fellows. And why? Because we knew how to behave with our girl-friends. We never allowed a girl to sleep on our arms as you see young people do today.

"The beautiful instruction our fathers gave us we are eager to pass on to you.

"We two old men have seen the Festival of the Pig Houses only three times in our lives. You, our children, have seen it for the first time.

"Now that the white men have come, you must listen to them. They are our friends. When the headman asks you to help with the work on the roads, do so gladly.

"You, who are still little children, you must not go about looking for rats and hunting *kapuls*: you must go to school. When we were your age, we had to think only of preparing ourselves for battle with our enemies, but now that the Government has come and the company [Hallstrom Livestock and Fauna Station] and the Fathers are here, there are no battle to worry about. You children have only one thing to do: go to school!"

Kum then began to speak: "Formerly when a girl was marked [that is, engaged] the parents of the girl would wash her grease-covered body. From that moment on she was marked for one man alone. She belonged to him. If such a girl would go out with another boy and made love with him (here I do not speak of the new custom of carrying the girl's leg, a thing we would never even think of when we were young), a serious quarrel would infallibly break out between the two families.

⁶ Here the word "sleep" should be taken in its literal sense and not as "to have intercourse."

"There is one thing I must say in praise of our modern girl: when we were young, our girls were inclined to be disobedient. Now, since the Fathers have come, the girls are much more submissive.

"On the other hand, before the arrival of the white man, a husband and wife used to walk side by side, just as you see white couples doing, but now for some reason or other we have the foolish custom of making our wives walk behind us. Our old custom certainly was a good custom; our present custom is bad."

Warep at this point interrupted Kum: "When we were shown the 'spirit-flutes' for the first time, our fathers told us, 'If one of your brothers [Here Warep understands "brother" in the broad sense, meaning any member of one's sub-clan.] wishes to get married, you must gladly help him get sufficient Bird of Paradise plumes to pay for his wife. After your brother is married he must pay back all you have given him.

"If you visit a relative and you see that he is making a new garden, putting up a new house or doing other difficult work, do not leave him till you have helped him finish the work.

"Never forget, my children, that it is a very grave duty of the young to take care of the aged. Bring them pork whenever you have some, supply them with sufficient sweet potatoes and see to it that they never lack sufficient drinking-water. Be kind to the old people and be generous to your brothers who wish to get married. Later on, when you yourself will be thinking of marriage, your brothers in turn will gladly help you and it will be easy for you to purchase a wife.

"You should make plenty of rope and give it to the women who need it for their pigs. The more gardens you make the better. Make plenty ditches and prepare plenty land for the women to plant. If you do so now as children and young men, later you will have pearl shells and iron axes sufficient to purchase wives for yourself.

"Go, my children, grow plenty sugar-cane. Have large banana plantations. Whenever your wife's relatives visit you, quickly offer them food."

Kum, receiving the cue from Warep, continued the instruction: "Yes, it is quite true: you must always have a good supply of bananas and sugar-cane. Remember, it is up to *you* to offer food to your wife's relatives. *You* must offer the food because your wife cannot." [Here Kum evidently refers to patrilocal residence. The food evidently belongs to the husband's family and therefore his wife would be over-cautious about offering too much food to her own kin. It is therefore up to the husband to offer them a very generous amount of food.]

Warep then told the initiates: "Before the white man came, we were constantly fighting with our enemies. Our fathers used to tell us: 'If an enemy should come and kill one of your relatives, you must in turn kill a relative of the murderer. Do not be a coward. Do not run away when you see the enemy. If your brother is killed in battle, you may not take his wife before you go to the enemy's camp and kill at least one man. Only then may you think of marrying your brother's wife.'

"Boys, a coward is not fit to be a husband or father. A coward may not marry. If you run away in battle, you may not get married.

"All of our comrades were killed in battle. Kum and I are the sole survivors. Kum was a brave warrior indeed. Kum was once fighting in a fierce battle when an enemy drove a spear through his arm that even pierced his breast. Look, boys, look closely: the scar still remains. When I was a young warrior the enemy once was pursuing me. I happened to be alone at the time and there were many enemies with long, sharp spears and many bows. I ran and ran as fast as I could until I was out of sight. But what was I actually doing? Was I really running away like a coward? By no means! I deceived the enemies: I came from behind and slew many of them. And once the enemy wanted to slay my comrade Kum, but I quickly came to his aid and saved him. Once, too, the enemy was about to kill me, but Kum came and saved me as I had saved him. The enemy was afraid of us two bold warriors. Yes, boys, many many of our brothers died at the hands of our enemies and only we two, Kum and I, remain.

"When we were young and began courting, our arms never came close to the girl's breast. We always kept our distance. The girl was always on our right. We held hands, our arms being held as stiffly as a branch of a tree—like this—but our bodies never touched. When we were young we never slept with our girl-friends. [Here the instructor is referring to the custom of young people sleeping together in the literal sense.] That explains why we are now so big and strong. Today our children sleep with the girls and think nothing of it. They lose their water [semen] and now their children are small and they themselves are small. When we were of age, our fathers decided when we should get married. We left that up to them, for they knew better than we just when we should marry. We were very careful about our water [semen], that is why even our ground had so much water. When we planted our sweet potatoes, vegetables, bananas, our gardens were really beautiful: it was a pleasure to look at them. Now you do not care about the water in your body: as a consequence your children are small, your gardens are dry and the harvest is poor. Now our children frequently have intercourse before marriage; they lose their water and later on when they get married they are dry and no longer can have children."

Warep interrupted Kum and said very emphatically "You must not do such things with the girls. Do not imitate the pig and dog!"

Kum continued: "Children, go to school in the morning. In the afternoon help father and mother.

"Now there are plenty white friends around us. Let us listen to them and all will be well."

These instructions, it must be remembered, are a translation of a tape recording which I have taken: I have not relied on my memory or notes. It must also be remembered that neither instructor was a Christian. Their arguments and instructions sound very Christian indeed, but they were based mainly on tradition, on what the old instructors themselves learned from their fathers long before the arrival of any missionaries.

After the instructions sugar-cane and pork were distributed.

Since only men and the candidates were present they alone took part in this feast. While the food was being prepared the initiates marched round and round the fire inside the Geru-House, while some of them played the usual melodies on the "spirit-flutes."

F. The Concluding Initiation Ceremonies

The next morning the initiated boys were dressed in the finest ornaments the parents owned and could borrow. The parents dressed their son themselves, taking great pains in arranging the flaming plumes neatly and in painting the boy's face in artistic patterns of yellow, orange, red, and sometime blue.

The initiates (including the girls) gathered in their respective Geru-Houses. The "grandfather" called out the names of two boys who then came outside holding an iron hatchet. This little ceremony was to teach the boys that from now on they were to be considered men, and like men they were to do hard work, cut fire-wood, and take their full share of the more difficult tasks.

The girl-initiates received their instruction regarding work too. Two women appeared on the scene holding digging-sticks. A net-bag containing sweet potatoes and some pork was placed on the ground. Two girls at a time came forward, held the digging-sticks in their hands and then lifted the net-bag off the ground. This act symbolized the type of work the initiated girls would have to do: grow sweet potatoes, take care of the pigs, and carry the produce from the gardens to their homes.

The parents of the initiated boys then began "pressure cooking" pork in the earth-ovens. This pork was later presented to the "music teachers" who had taught the boys the art of playing the "spirit-flutes."

VI. THE CONCLUDING CEREMONIES OF THE FESTIVAL

Several days later the three diamond-shaped boards which had been placed on top of the central pole of the Bolim-House, and represented the female sex organs, as well as all the clubs which had been used for slaughtering the pigs, were taken to the bank of the Ngumi Creek. A hole was dug near the stream where

these sacred objects were religiously buried.

According to my informant, two years from now, when the new pigs will be large enough to be slaughtered, the people will again come to Kombulno. They will again gather around the House of the Bolim-Spirit. The "spirit-flutes" will again fill the air with their monotonous tunes. Two pigs will be killed for each adult; thus, for example, the Kamanegan sub-clan will be obliged to slaughter about seventy-five two-year-old pigs. On this occasion the House of the Bolim-Spirit will be carried to the Ngumi Creek and secretly buried by the same men who dug up the old central pole from the preceding Festival of the Pig Houses. Only the jawbones of the pigs that had been hung around the Bolim-House and the *kunai*-grass that formed its roof will remain at the ancestral burial grounds. Perhaps twenty years from now these remains will be dug up and another elaborate Festival of the Pig Houses will again be held. How different the festival will be from the one just described, how different in its socio-religious aspect, remains to be seen.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

That we have described an essential feature of the socio-religious life of the people is beyond doubt. *Sociologically* considered, the festival described is important because it brings together into temporary villages for about a year a people who at all other times lives in scattered homesteads. Sociologically too it is important because the very heart and soul of the festival is an ancient, inviolable tradition and ancestor worship, giving the natives a feeling of oneness, more perhaps than any other native practice. The frequent reminders throughout the festival of who is a "brother" and who is an "enemy," who is a friend and who is not, strengthens the consciousness of oneness. The ceremonies, speeches, visits from friendly groups, and the sharing of food and labor connected with the festival, are all reminders of who is and who is not "one of us." The festival therefore is an important feature of native social life, contributing much to tribal solidarity and the accompanying feeling of security—a feeling important especially in a primitive society

where an individual in every phase of life is utterly helpless.

Considering the festival from the *religious* point of view, we have here a religious function extended over a long period, occurring only once every generation, a religious function as important to the native as a visit to Mecca is for a Moslem. At no other time are the ancestors honored with greater pomp than during the Festival of the Pig Houses; at no other time are the chief spirits, Bolim and Geru, whose anger all fear, honored as much as during this festival.

The ceremonies, especially those connected with the initiation of the youth, have already undergone great changes through contact with European civilization. What changes still await the Great Festival, especially in its socio-religious aspect, remains to be seen.

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